MAN!

"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

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EXPROPRIATION AND THE RIGHT TO LIVE

With Clement Duval appeared the theory of individual expropriation. On October 7, 1886, the hotel of Madam Lemaire, then a well known artist painter, was partially burned by unknown persons. Silverware, gold medals, brooches, and bracelets all set with fine stones and valued at 15,000 francs had been taken away.

The description of the stolen goods was given to the jewelers of Paris. Not long after, Oct. 10th, a jeweler of the rue Throuchet informed the police that one of the brooches in question had been offered to him. A trap was set. A few arrested individuals declared that they had received the goods from Duval whom they knew to be attending the anarchist groups. Numerous detectives were put on Duval's trace and he was soon apprehended by the famous Rossignol. Duval's capture was really dramatic; only with the help of many policemen and a hard fight did they succeed in holding him.

At first, the press presented his case as ordinary; but a letter from Duval addressed to the prosecuting attorney lifted the veil and rendered the case sensational. The letter as published by the newspapers reads as follows:—

Oct. 21, 1886.

To the Prosecuting Attorney
Sir:

Upon my incarceration sheet in Mazas I see written: . . . attempt to murder; to the contrary, I believe that I was in a position of legitimate defense. It is true that you and I do not see this in the same light because I am an anarchist, or better, say a partisan of anarchy. I could not be an anarchist in our present society. In view of these facts I cannot recognize the law, knowing by experience that law is a prostitute that is handled at will for the advantage or detriment of this or that individual or class. Therefore, if I have attacked the police officer Rossignol, it is because he threw himself upon me to arrest me in the name of the law; I, in the name of freedom, stabbed him.

Consequently, I am within logic of my principles; far from this is the attempt to murder!

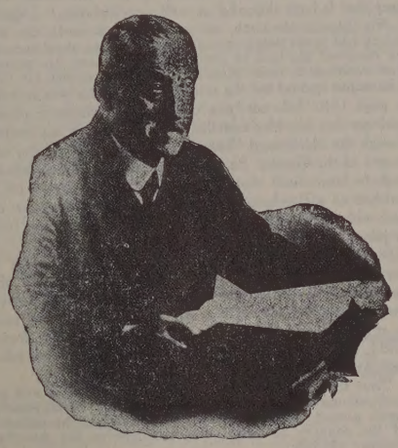
Receive the assurances of my revolutionary feelings,

CLEMENT DUVAL

At the same time, he addressed the following declaration to Jean Grave, editor of "*Le Revolte*", which appeared in that publication.

Comrade:—

Although very little known to you, you don't ignore the fact that I am an anarchist. I am writing this letter to you to pro-



CLEMENT DUVAL.
(1850 - 1935)

test against the insanities which must have been slapped upon me in particular, and upon the anarchists in general, by the newspapers of all shades. They went so far as to say, when I was arrested, that I was an ex-convict and that I had been in jail for theft. Could it be possible to call a thief a worker who owns nothing but misery? In my point of view, theft consists only in the exploitation of man by man; that is to say, in the existence of all those who live at the expense of the productive class.

Here is why and how I committed that offense which they call theft: In 1870 I was, as many others, fool enough to go and defend the properties and privileges of others; but then I was only twenty years old! From there I brought back two wounds and rheumatism; a terrible sickness that had already made me spend four years in various hospitals. After having served as cannon fodder I then served as experimentation flesh for those masters of science. Thus, in 1878, I was only out of the hospital for three months when I started to work. After one week I fell sick again and had to remain at home for a month. I was the father of two children . Somewhat later my wife too fell sick. There was neither money nor bread in the house. I was not in the anarchist movement, which in fact did not really exist at that time. The study of sociology was yet in its embryonic stage; then too heads had not been chopped off to spread its significance. I was long ago free from the prejudices that weigh upon the masses' brain; I was enemy of all authority, an anarchist at heart. I loved all that was right, great, and generous, and revolted against abuses and injustices. From this fact I recognized the indeniable right which nature has given to every human being—the right to existence. An occasion presents itself. Without scruple, I helped myself to the strong-box of a Railroad Station master which yielded 80 francs. One cannot go very far with 80 francs when one is lacking in everything—drugs are very dear.

And so, I resolved to go back and again see the strong-box of the Railroad Station master, saying to myself, "Pshaw! The Company steals enough from its employees and I, lacking the necessities of life am certainly entitled to take a part of that which is superfluous." That was my misfortune, I was arrested and sentenced to one year in jail. Far from being ashamed of it I vindicate it. When society refuses you the right to existence, you have the right to take without begging; begging is cowardice.

The above, comrade, is the truth as at the time of my condemnation. No comrade knew of it. I assume then the entire responsibility for my acts. Those who make use of the human stupidity to discredit an idea, so just, so noble as the one defended by the anarchists, in searching to throw upon a whole party the faults or the wrongs (if wrong there is) of one of its defenders, are idiots who have interests, and who tremble before the tight logic of the anarchist ideas. I think that this explanation to the anarchist comrades is necessary and I beg you to publish my letter in your next issue. CLEMENT DUVAL
Mazas, Oct. 24th, 1886.

JULES SCARCERIAUX.

CHICORY CORNERS LOOKS BACK

I am moved to ask myself what has Anarchism revealed to me or taught me in a quarter of a century, or the 28 years since while a student in the University of Western Ontario, I first proclaimed myself an anarchist at a forum in the long since defunct local Unitarian church. How shocked my relatives (good, loyal Conservatives at that time) were when it got into the newspapers that I was to speak on "The Ideals of Anarchism"!

Well, friends of the Chicory Corners Kaffee Klatch and of the world beyond, I have learned the truth of what my heart as a boy suspected—that LIBERTY IS BEST. And I have learned, too, that the best way to get liberty is to ACCEPT LIBERTY, that is, to take it for granted.

They who are greater than angels tread safely where fools are destroyed, and Libertarians are certainly greater than mere angels, poor feathered creatures pulled hither and thither by the prayers and yowlings of maudlin religionists. I have learned to accept the Universe—I am a Universalist. I have learned to believe that there is an unseen something which I call TRUTH that underlies all that endures in life and the universe. This, I claim, is the true Taoist doctrine founded by Leo Tze. I am equally indifferent as to what Atheists and Christians choose to call TRUTH. It is the *res per ipse*, not the name that counts.

I am respectfully grateful for all that Evolution through natural laws has accomplished in perfecting flora and fauna, and for all the evolutionary (or revolutionary) advances made in human knowledge and understanding. But more than anything else, I am grateful for the inborn goodness of the human heart. I have never met a human being who did not have some goodness in his heart—but of course, I have never met a Cotton Mather, a Calvin, a President Lowell or a Judge Thayer, nor even a Hitler nor a Mussolini.

I have formed odd impressions, right or wrong, such as a tendency to believe the "milk of human kindness" flows more freely in the breast of a street-walker than in the flattish chest of a woman reformer or a chastity cultist.

I believe that the people we call criminals are just as good morally and just as honest as the police, sheriffs, judges, lawyers who live by battling against what is designated crime.

I have worked for Hearst but I have no desire to do so again. I had a clearer conscience climbing walkup apartment stairs in The Bronx as a *Home News* reporter than when at twice the salary I pushed a pencil on a Hearst copy desk.

And I have learned that most people unless they are priest-ridden or driven by political bosses are quite ready to agree that Anarchism is right, if I take time to explain it to them. I don't like to disagree with Marcus Graham but Laurence Labadie's recent inclusion of Nietzsche, along with Kropotkin, Proudhon and Tolstoi, as four great anarchists appealed to me. Nietzsche—the great mind seeking freedom from a woman-dominated childhood—was essentially an anarchist type. He preaches hardness but not to others, only hardness with one's self when one feels capable of leadership. To be fair to others, one does really need what Nietzsche called "courage for psychological nakedness."

But I would go far back in history and start with another great name—Lao Tze. Today in America this "Chinese anarchism" is smilingly battling against the Silver Shirt Fascism of Pelley. I paid hall rent several Sundays for a young disciple of Pelley to talk mysticism at a New-Thought meeting. Then one day he met me in the armchair lunchroom and announced that he had known all along I was an "Anarchist and an atheist' 'and he didn't even wish me to speak to him on the street. Last I heard of him, he was somewhere in California.

If I can I shall attend an advertising affiliation convention here shortly just to hear Princess Alexandra Kropotkin. I'm not enraptured with her magazine writings but she is the talented and beautiful daughter of a great father. I haven't the slightest idea what her views on Anarchism are but I always like to meet the children of great parents.

Here's an economic puzzler for toilers north of the Great Lakes. Canadians spend 30 per cent of their incomes in taxes —hand nearly a third of all their earnings over to the government, according to a report from Ottawa. When they talk about the high cost of relief, I like to ask them how it is that Doukhobors manage to keep off the relief lists.

NEIL TURNSPUR.

Natural Versus Artificial

It is impossible to harmonize a natural anarchistic condition of society with the artificial, mental and physical degeneracy of these modern times. Freedom does not harmonize with slavery, peace with war, health with disease, natural law with artificial law. They are diametrically opposed to one another.

In order to comply with the artificial conditions created by man, we are forced continually to reprimand and train our children to adopt artificial standards of mental and physical growth. A natural child has no respect for private property because ownership of the means of life is an artificial law.

If a child observes luscious fruit in an orchard, they want to satisfy an inherent desire to partake of it. Their child mind does not comprehend why some individual has the right to deny them the right of access to what nature produced. Many times older children, contrary to home training, take chances of being caught in ordet to satisfy a natural desire.

A true naturalist has a deep, sincere love for children. They know that their thoughts are free from superstitions and unnatural desires until forced upon them by parents, teachers, and the cultured paganism of the various religions.

Some children never fully acquire the vices of our modern theological dispensaries, and become rebels against the unjust conditions under which they are forced to live. There are many of this kind incarcerated in our prisons—their only crime, A LOVE FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE.

HUGH BRADFORD REED

* * *

Cruel treatment of animals is against man's duty to himself, because through it his compassion for the suffering of men is weakened. —IMMANUEL KANT.

A FALSIFIED HISTORY OF "REBEL AMERICA"

Starting out in the most innocent-assuming manner by reviewing the inception of the first social-community experiments attempted in this country, Lillian Symes and Travers Clement (*Rebel America—The Story of Social Revolt in the United States*, Harper & Brothers, publishers, 1934) manage but to wear this cloak of impartiality only in their first thirty pages. The very moment that they encounter the ever-menacing ghost of Anarchism that forces into the background of insignificance their pet gods—Marx and Marxian socialists, they don their cloaks, and furnish an exhibition of writing a blackguard history of Rebel America that no reactionary or governmental agency has ever equalled.

The kind of a "history" we are to meet is readily revealed on page 38 when they speak of the workers already distrusting politics as a result of their own experience long before Marx ever began to believe in it, and add this:

> High hopes would give way to black despair; until, as one bitter disillusionment followed another, they tended to develop a distrust for "labor politics" that was never to completely be eradicated. In Europe ... it had become sufficiently conscious of its own interests to use it more or less as a class weapon.

And not before long we meet with the formulation of Anarchism that is the common trade-in-stock of every socialist since the days of Marx. Speak our "historians":

> With the twilight of Utopian Socialism, came the effulgence of Utopian Anarchism, an expression of intellectual individualism which was to furnish a political philosophy for American middle-class protest down to the present day. (P. 78.)

The opportunist tactics of Marx revealed itself long before the issue of political action was raised by him within the First International. When the "grand" Republican party of this country raised the issue of abolition of Negro slavery Marx did not hesitate to urge his followers here to join the republican party, which many did. To mitigate this act the "historians" say:

> But it is obvious from their resolutions that they invested first the Abolitionists, then the Republican Party, and finally the "Radical" Republicans with more consciously revolutionary motivations than they actually possessed. (P. 89.)

But Marx could evidently not mislead so easily the native workers, note than the manner in which this fact is stated:

> They continued to look upon the impending conflict as a quarrel between two sets of masters with which the workers had nothing to do. They adopted toward it, in short, the classic social revolutionary attitude toward all "capitalist wars." (P. 91.)

Thus ends part one of the "history." Part two opens up with the very modest singular line heading across a whole page: "ENTER KARL MARX" . . .

Evidently hard up to find sufficiently strong words of their own in praise of the Communist Manifesto, the "historians" bring along the words of Otto Rühle:

> It was one and at the same time, a historical demonstration, a critical analysis, a program and a prophecy. It was a masterpiece. (P. 102.)

What our "historians" have simply forgotten to relate is the fact that this "masterpiece," written in 1847 by Marx and Engels was *plagiarized* almost in its entirety, *chapter by chapter*, from the "*Principles of Socialism; Manifesto of the Democracy of the 19th Century*" by Victor Considerant, a Fuerierist Socialist, and printed in 1843!

In introducing Michael Bakunin the "historians" are attempting to make it appear that they even have an admiration for him by conceding his having been more "likeable" as a human being than Marx. They are generous alright to the extent of quoting from Bakunin a favorable appraisal of Marx as a social thinker. But when it comes to dealing with the treatment of Bakunin by Marx the "historians" reveals their true color. They write:

> Frequently arrested and several times condemned to death he (Bakunin) managed always to escape or obtain commutation of sentence—a circumstance which raised the cry of agent provocateur among his rivals, a charge which Marx did not hesitate to use against him. (P. 112.)

And how easy it was for *honest* historians to have simply stated the truth! In 1848 Karl Marx was the first one to publish in his paper the *Neue Reinische Zeitung* a "note" that George Sand, the novelist, has in her possessions proofs that Bakunin was a provocateur. George Sand immediately came forward not only to deny it, but declaring the note *as a piece of invented fiction*, and that she has the fullest of trust in the sincerity of Bakunin!

Bebel and Liebknecht afterwards began to circulate *anew* the same charge! Bakunin brought the issue before the International Congress in 1869 at Basel. A revolutionary tribunal cleared Bakunin and forced Liebknecht to retract the charges. After shaking hands with Bakunin, Marx and the other political socialists, *kept on repeating the backmail-slander!*

Furthermore, Bakunin spent in one instance alone *ten years* in the Russian fortresses, mostly chained, and two years in Siberia before he made his escape. Let the reader compare all these facts with the *doctored* manner in which the two "historians" relate the matter, and the shameless piece of duplicity committed here by them!

The same sort of omission characterizes the "historians'" manner of relating how Marx "captured" the reins of the First International, and deliberately moved it to America for its intended death, rather than let it be re-captured by Bakunin and the anarchists. And this is how Symes-Clement put it:

> It was in a sense, a Pyrric victory for the great Socialist, though he must have realized by this time that the International had served its purpose and was doomed to extinction anyway. (P. 114.)

Such is the shameful and dishonest manner in which these two "historians" deal with the most important crucial struggles within the revolutionary movement, struggles which were thwarted and knifed in the back by the scheming political maneuvers of Marx and his followers, and that turned the whole course of that movement into one of ugly treacheries throughout the world—ending in its ultimate complete collapse, in which it finds itself today.

The treatment by the "historians" of the socialist and the anarchist movement of America follows of course the same path as in the treatment of Europe, only with a vengeance. In dealing with Bakunin and the anarchists of Europe the "historians" simply resorted to distortions, omissions and repeated quotations solely from Socialist sources, and not even in one instance from anarchist ones, in matters of controversy.

Every bit of gutter gossip that no self-respecting man or woman would touch is played up and repeated, when such gossip concerns an active anarchist. Stephen Pearl Andrews and Benjamin R. Tucker are thus treated by the "historians." No inkling is being given to the real great importance that the social activities of both have meant in the growth and development of radical thought in America. But the "historians'" suppression of the room which stores the printed and unprinted hundreds of pounds of manuscripts of Pearl at the Historical Library of Madison, Wisconsin, and the libraries of the country that contain the works of the most important social and literary minds of Europe that Tucker brought out in translation form—(aside from the weekly Journal *Liberty* that he edited for over ten years)—both these will outlive this most dishonest and lying history of "Rebel America."

Johann Most is brought forward by the "historians" in a manner that is both shameful as well as scandalous! I quote:

> His illigetimate birth, his puniness as a youth, the scar which had made people shrink from him, the chastisements he received, his lack of formal education and his poverty had combined to make Most an incurable neurotic. (P. 157.)

I have just quoted but the second time that this was repeated from page 156. I do not know of any pen-prostitute or governmental spy that has ever equalled the paragraph I just quoted! Although the blackguard "historians" admit Most having once belonged to the German Social Democracy, they are dishonest enough to keep silent about the fact of Most's having by his experience as a Reichstag (Congress) member become so disgusted with Social Democracy and its politics that he forthwith joined the anarchists.

The blackguard "historians" find ample space though for giving over in full details (P. 158-159) the contents of a pamphlet issued by Most that deals with the *Science of Revolutionary Warfare*, followed by some sentences from the manifesto of the International Working People's Association, formed in 1883, that deal with the need to use the only recourse left—force. And our "historians" sputter:

> Thus the so-called "black flag of assassination and terror"—though it was to require the flash of the Haymarket bomb almost two years later to bring it to the attention of the country at large—was unfurled to the American breeze. (P. 159.)

In this vein the blackguard "historians" proceed to cull sentences and paragraphs from various anarchist leaflets, all with the avowed purpose to show that the anarchists of that period were bent on nothing else but destruction and violence. Nowhere is any hint or explanation attempted that would show *the background for such utterances*, for these would reveal the wholesale campaign of violence and murder that the government had been carrying on at that time against the rebelling workers, and that the expressions of the anarchists were but *an answer to these attacks!* Suffice it to say that these two blackguard "historians" go even so far as in quoting the identical notes and leaflets that the police of Chicago used as the "evidence" upon which to legally murder the five anarchist martyrs of 1887!!!

The true hidden hatred toward anarchism and its movement by which these two slanderers Symes-Clement are motivated reveals itself when quoting what they term as "the respects paid to" the anarchists by Marx's daughter and son-in-law (Avelings) when visiting America:

> Where the working class has come to years of discretion and where, from a vague feeling of misery and unrest, it has grown to understand its true position, has awakened to class consciousness—Anarchism dies out. (P. 181.)

In dealing with the "history" of the socialist and anarchist movement of their own times, the times we live in, the two blackguard authors excell themselves in the doctoring, falsifications and exaggerations.

The Social Democracy, Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party, and every offspring of the socialist and bolshevik parties that followed in the wake of the revolution in Russia is given a detailed account of, listing their leading "lights," publications and collaborators down to Muste and Calverton. But when it comes to speak of the haunted ghost—the anarchist movement—only *Mother Earth*, Berkman and Goldman, are mentioned, coupled by this "introduction":

> There is a germ of truth in the oft repeated statement that there are almost as many kinds of Anarchism as there are Anarchists. (P. 236.)

No mention is made of the fact that for ten years the Isaaks issued a weekly anarchist publication *Free Society* that attracted some of the most revolutionary minds of this country. Nor is even mention made of Moses Harman that went to jail for espousing birth control in his anarchist magazine. Nor the most outstanding incident of the character of an American anarchist, when Voltairine De Cleyre was shot at by an admirer due to unreturned love, and she not only refused to testify against him but openly defended him in court, and tried her utmost to have him liberated. Neither is any mention made of more than a score of various anarchist publications, principally issued by natives, that were being published by anarchist groups throughout the country.

In describing the world war period within the radical movement, the doctoring "historians" emphasize twice that "many" anarchists and Peter Kropotkin were pro-war, whereas the truth is that instead of *many* it should have read *very few!* No emphasis is made though of the fact that with very rare and notable exceptions, *the entire socialist movement of Europe* and the *native one of America* were not only pro-war, but many of its leading spirits became agents of the government in aiding to carry on the wholesale butchery of workers against workers. The anti-war stand of Debs is elaborated upon, but the trial and conviction of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman receives about one dozen words! Neither is the fact mentioned that the anarchists were the only movement in America that dared to form and keep going in the most hysterical period of this country's participation in the war — an Anti-Conscription League.

The "historians" devote pages to the *Masses* trial in war time but fail to mention the government's suppression of the anarchist publications: *The Blast, Revolt, Social War* and the *Mother Earth Bulletin*.

In speaking of the Mooney-Billings case, the "historians" make no mention of the fact that it was the anarchist Alexander Berkman and the then fellow-anarchist Robert Minor who were the first to initiate the defense of these two martyrs, or of the fact that the authorities attempted to hang Berkman on the same charge of the 1916 bomb explosion.

Neither is any mention made in the "history" of the martyrdom of the Anarchist Jacob Schwartz, or of the trial and conviction of his fellow-comrades, who were *the first group* in America (1918) to dare in coming forward in defending the revolution in Russia, and to denounce Woodrow Wilson's war action and participation in the allied intervention against the revolution in Russia.

A few lines are given to the exile-ship *Buford* that carried away from this country 249 people on December 21, 1919, but no mention is being made that *practically all were anarchists*. Nor is it even hinted that the Union of Russian Workers of anarchists, numbering seven thousand adherents in this country, were descended upon in 1919 by Palmer agents, their headquarters smashed and every one of the hundreds arrested beaten most brutally, and subsequently deported.

The fact that Sacco and Vanzetti were in the throes of death for years before the socialists and communists took any notice of the case is not even mentioned in the "history," nor the dubious role of the communists in that celebrated case.

Although the doctoring "historians" speak of the four large volumes published by the Lusk committee containing the records of all current social movements of the country, they nevertheless fail to mention the recorded documents and facts related in those four volumes of an underground anarchist movement that carried on work in this country from 1918-1923, publishing various leaflets, pamphlets and a monthly, *The Anarchist Soviet Bulletin*, subsequently changed to *Free Society*. And of course no mention is made that some of the individuals doing this underground work were apprehended, third degreed and ordered deported.

* * *

Of the close to four hundred pages penned by the two doctoring blackguards—Lillian Symes and Travers Clement—most of the pages deal with the political maneuvers of Marx and all his followers, abroad as well as in this country. Had they termed this "history" a History of Karl Marx and His Followers I would not be justified in reviewing the work as I do the one they named "Rebel America, The Story of Social Revolt in United States." By no stretch of the imagination can I *find any moral or truthful justification for having used the title that they do*. I know only too well that all history books, must as a matter of course, carry to a great extent the point of view of the authors. Still, history books of any truthful value require a sufficient sense of responsibility to detach one's self when relating activities of individuals and movements of divergent views. No author can do real justice to a subject that they have a cynical contempt for, or a bias and hatred that leads them to doctor up the unfavorable misdeeds of their idols, and to suppress important facts that are revelant to the subject matter that is being dealt with by them.

The IWW who comes off with sort of a somewhat fair treatment by the doctoring "historians" are at the same time also treated with cynicism, as all other revolutionary movements are.

Titled as the book is I find no singular justification why all the space devoted to political movements were given at all. The ghost of anarchism and the anarchist movement that has haunted Marx and all his followers has been the guiding spirit of this "history." Marx and the Marxians have repeatedly slandered, assassinated and declared as dead the only uncompromising revolutionary movement that has nowhere at any time mislead or betrayed the workers, as most of the socialist and bolshevik movements have and still are doing everywhere. And what is more important, is, the fact that the anarchists can truthfully claim of having at all times, in the long struggle for Freedom and Justice, brought more sacrifices and devotion in all such struggles than any other existent social movement. Symes and Travers seem to know this very well, that and nothing else accounts for their producing a shameless, dishonest, doctored and blackguard "history" or real Rebel America. They ought to, if they can, feel no less ashamed of their most dishonorable perfidious accomplishment than the publishers who issued it.

MARCUS GRAHAM.

Boss Politician

His life
Was a cancer
With a festering head,
Covering roots that lived on duped
Voters.

FORREST T. FRAZIER

SOMETHING TO DIGEST FOR AMERICAN YOUTH

The so-called depression has done something which years of learning could not achieve, the awakening of American students and a small number of the older intellectuals in the literary group. This is certainly an encouraging phenomenon in this country, the more so when it is considered that both the "brain trusts" as well as Congress are at the end of their ropes, not even having an inkling that the present system of production and distribution is dead and cannot be revived. Even our political economists do not seem to be aware of the fact, although Prof. Veblen prophesied this thirty-six years ago, when he said to this writer: "Neither the propaganda of the anarchists nor the Marxists will kill capitalism, but the *machine* will do so."

Unfortunately our intellectuals are looking to Marxism or, in other words, authoritarian communism as a remedy for our ills, not realizing that they are heading towards greater slavery than we have suffered under capitalism.

Ignoring Herbert Spencer's criticism of State-Socialism, the following is a criticism of State-Socialism written by W. P. Borland, an American railroad worker, some forty years ago, and the arguments are today as valid as they were in his time:

"Most of the error in the criticisms of Free-Communism, as far as it concerns those who are really honest in such criticisms, results from an imperfect conception of the potentialities of freedom, together with the unconscious carrying over into Communism of ideas and forms of reasoning which are the product of, and can only exist under the present form of society. From capitalistic premises men seek to deduce communistic conditions; their reasoning is thus illegitimate and their conclusions of no account. The greater part of this erroneous criticism, of course, relates to the communistic plan of distribution; and your so-called "scientific" Socialist is generally as vigorous in his contemptous domination of the idea of absolutely free consumption as is the laissez-faire individualist. Both alike assert the absolute necessity of some fixed rule for proportioning reward to effort; the only advantage possessed by the Socialist lies in the fact that he recognizes the economic superiority of cooperation and proposes to utilize it for the benefit of the entire social body, basing his rule of distribution in actual service performed—in what one DOES instead of what one OWNS. But, nothwithstanding that capitalism is his BELE NOIR, when the Socialist attempts to develop his distribution theory, he becomes enmeshed in the capitalist net. He adopts for the basis of his distribution a strictly capitalistic form, failing to perceive that with the accomplishment of the avowed objects of Socialism this form must necessarily disappear, thus removing the keystone of his whole theory and leaving him between the horns of a dilemma, out of which he must choose either authoritarian Communism or absolutely free consumption. I will briefly indicate their dilemma.

"Karl Marx wrote very learnedly and very exhaustively on the subject of value—the Marxian concept of an absolute value unit is the control point of the whole philosophy of so-called 'scientific' Socialism—but all that he wrote doesn't amount to a pinch of snuff, for the simple reason that the phenomenon of value itself is a consequence of slavery, of capitalism, of the very condition which Socialism assumes to destroy. The Socialistic concept of value assumes the existence of an absolute value-form, an exact and unwaying measure, namely Social labor-time. Products have value in exact proportion to the Social labor-time employed in their production. Equal quantities of labor-time expended in social production produce value of equal magnitude. This leaves entirely out of account the various forms of production and varying utilities of such form; it makes all labor of equal value, by logical apportions to each laborer, without regard to the character of his labor—with the single proviso that it is "socially necessary" labor—equal portions of the social product. That is to say, without any regard to vocation, all persons who labor an equal number of hours must receive equal pay. This begins to look something like Communism, but it isn't; nor is it calculated to be.

*"Your scientific Socialist imagines himself superior to communism, but it is his misfortune to be unable to form any conception of communism save in its authoritarian dress. Having reached this point in the development of his theory the Socialist encounters a snag. His capitalist opponent get him on the hip by pointing out that such a plan would result in the total destruction of economic motive, and produce chaos in the economic arrangement of the social body. 'Under such a value,' says he, 'your producers remaining perfectly free to choose their occupations to suit themselves, how would you prevent a rush of laborers into the more congenial and easy occupations, and a dearth of laborers for exhausting and repugnant ones? How would you prevent a useless accumulation of certain products or an absolute famine of others?' Here is a dilemma for the Socialist. He must either adopt authoritaian Communism and decree that the producers must be forced into their places and held there by the strong arm of the law, * or he must abandon the whole theory and value and adopt free Communism as the only solution. The acception of either, from the standpoint at which the Socialist allows himself to be placed by his capitalistic opponent, is equally fatal to the theory of 'scientific' (sic) Socialism. It is impossible for him to accept either, so he compensates the matter by turning his back on the first and attempting to evade the second. He still makes a pretense of clinging to the absolute theory of value and attempts to remove the inconsistencies of his scheme by decreeing differences in the duration of the labor day for the different occupations, the proportion of labor-time due to the different vocations to be determined by statistics! It requires no very gigantic intellect to be able to percieve that this is a total sacrifice of the socialist theory of value, a complete abandonment of the entire basis of socialist distribution. Labor-time is no longer an absolute measure of value; the socialist is deprived of his absolute value and driven to empiricism to determine that which the Communist rightly apprehends to be indeterminate. In this he lends himself in the same vicious circle as his capitalist opponent. The capitalist economist defines value as 'whatever a consumer is willing to pay for an article.' The Socialist makes merry over this, rightly contending that it is mere tautology, as if one should say 'the value of a thing is whatever a thing is worth.*

"But how stands the case with the Socialist? He starts out with firm assumption of an absolute measure of values, and plants himself, as on a solid rock, on the declaration: 'The value of a thing is the quantity of labor (measured in time) required to produce it.' He is next driven by the necessities of his argument into seeking a standard by which to measure labor itself. In other words, after adopting labor as a measure for the value of products, he finds himself as far away from his goal as ever, because he lacks a standard for the measurement of the value of labor, and he is finally driven to pitable tautology: 'The value of labor is whatever it is worth.' He starts out very boldly to hew out a line for himself, but after traveling around the same vicious circle as the bourgeois economist he brings out on top of that old economic chestnut, 'supply and demand'!

"Now, where is the trouble? The trouble is in attempting to measure value at all in attempting to carry a capitalistic form over into a social synthesis where it has no place. In nature there is no such thing as value and in a free society it would be enough, and would be relieved from the fear of want, value (Marxism) contemplates, where every individual would have enough, an dwould be relieved from the fear of want, value must utterly disappear. Value is merely a conception which gives expression to the power of authority to limit the means of life of a people, to deprive them of opportunities to satisfy their wants. It is a measure of slavery. It is a concept which can be formed by the mind only under slavish conditions. This is no mere wild assertion: It is a fact which has been demonstrated by the bourgeois economists themselves, and the laws of values are well known to all our commercial magnates, who act upon them every day of their lives. In order that value may attach itself to anything whatsoever its quantity must be limited to less than is actually needed. When the limitation is removed a supply is allowed to become co-extensive with effective demand, value at once disappears. It was a practical demonstration of this law of value that first started Fourier to investigate the social problem. When a clerk in a mercantile establishment he was compelled to superintend the destruction of a large quantity of rice, his employers being driven to this means of limitation in order to sustain the value of rice.

"I said that the law of value had been stated by the bourgeois economy itself. The scientific statement is: The value of a commodity is a function of the quantity available, and will fall to zero when supply outruns demand so far as to make the final increment of supply useless, or not wanted. (See 'Theory of Political Economy,' by W. S. Jevons.) It is a very simple matter to cause the disappearance of value. Just allow the people to produce up to the limit of their needs, and let them retain their natural power to consume, and value at once goes glimmering. Socialism assumes to do this; therefore, Socialism destroys its own basis of distribution. There is only one workable rule of distribution for a free society, and that is, absolutely free consumption. Such as Anarchist-Communism proposes. There is no sentiment about this conclusion; it's pure science."

The above brief argument was written many years ago, and suceeding events have amply verified the contentions of the writer. Thousands and thousands of sacks of coffee have been burned in Brazil to keep up prices instead of giving the poor a cheaper product. In this country cotton and wheat were plowed under, hogs and cattle slaughtered in order to help a part of our population, the farmer, while millions were suffering for want of bread and clothing. After the revolution in Russia there was absolutely no reason for the starvation and nakedness that the upheaval engendered, had the people been free to produce and consume the necessities of life. But the workers and peasants were not free to do so, as the Bolsheviki seized the power of government with the enticing slogan: "The land to the peasants —the factories to the workers," and we know the result: enslavement of both workers and peasants, and the terrible starvation, a starvation unheard of for several centuries. The most conservative estimate is that more than 5 million people died of starvation in the Ukrainia alone. All this suffering was engendered simply because the government was bound to build factories and power stations at the price of human suffering.

Now, our political economists must be aware of these facts; they certainly realize that the present system of production and distribution is dead—deader than a dove nail; and that all our efforts to revive the dead system are futile, only dragging us deeper into a quagmire. Then why the silence?

A. ISAAK.

* —This is exactly what happened in Russia.—A. I.

What Is Capitalism ?

Everyone nowadays talks glibly of capitalism. Some want it abolished; many to modify it; others to preserve it. But no one attempts to tell what it is, define it, or analyze it scientifically to ascertain its essential features. Capitalism cannot be defined in terms of poverty, exploitation, imperialism, a system of education, etc. for these are effects and not causes. It is the causes as involved in fundamental economic relations that we seek.

Capitalism is a derivitive word, coming from 'capital.' Yet even here a satisfactory definition, one that limits rather than indicates, is not given. One meets with ambiguity on every hand. Textbooks commonly define capital as that portion of wealth used in the production of more wealth. But what is wealth? To say that a man has a wealth of knowledge is to speak figuratively for wealth is commonly regarded as a thing, not as a quality. "Natural wealth" is used to connote things in their native state but it is hardly admissable to call wealth things upon which no labor has been expended. Wealth is the result of work. A logical definition would be to call wealth anything that had been moved, formed, assembled, cultivated, or otherwise modified to satisfy the desires of men. Capital, then, is a *thing*, moreover it is of such nature that it is being used up in the process of production. But in the larger view everything used by men is being so used! So there has been made a more or less arbitrary distinction between those things immediately consumable and those being used up indirectly in the productive process. At this point, capitalism might be defined as an economic in which capital was used in production, that is, when production is carried on by the "indirect" process. But this is manifestly absurd for it would hardly differentiate one system of productive relations from another. Let us go further.

We know that capital is used in production, therefore, whether considered in relation to an enclosed economic or through a process of exchange, capital might be considered as something which assists in affording one an income. Note that in defining capital in this way an *effect* is included with the *thing*. Capitalism, then, would be an economic system in which, or through which, incomes are derived from the use of "instruments of production". But what are instruments of production? Here is a snag, for are not business enterprises "capitalized", i. e. valued, at their income producing power and not totally on material assets? Is not "good will" a part of capitalization; do not franchises and other legal rights afford one an income? For after all we are speaking of the present economic order and are looking for its salient features. But if "good will" and legal rights, non-material things, are factors conducive to income-producing power, we may logically shorten our definition and make it more inclusive by saying that capital is *whatever* affords or assists in affording one an income.

Let us examine the evolution of this definition. We find that capital in the original instance meant a *thing*. It included nearly every product (excluding services not incorporated in things, such as teaching, amusements, etc.) There followed a more or less arbitrary distinction between "productive instruments" such as machinery, buildings, etc. and the commodities bread, shoes, and wearing apparel. Next we found capital including not only the thing but also an *effect of ownership and control*. And lastly we were brought to *effect alone*, a broad definition which includes ability, labor, "good will", money, might, government, legally created rights forming the money, land, patent and tariff monopolies, as well as things. *Under capitalism, as we know it, capital is anything at all, material, legal, or outlaw, the using of which affords the one controling it an income.* This definition has the merit of being logical and agreeing with fact. For instance, an entertainer uses his ability as capital, a working man his labor, a conscientious business man his efficiency and honesty, a rich man his money, a racketteer capitalizes on his might and on intimidation, politicians on their shrewdness and authority in the government. Others use legally created rights: bankers get an income because of the monopoly of currency issue, landlords by legal titles to land which they do not use, manufacturers by the control of patent privileges, and certain producers and traders by tariff protection. FOR EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THESE ARE MEANS BY WHICH INCOMES ARE MAINTAINED & ENHANCED, AND ASSURED. This then is the definition of modern capitalism: *an economic system in which income producing power is created legally by the State.*

Modern capitalism, then, is nothing more than a system of legalized robbery sanctioned, maintained, and abetted by the State. Let us note a few important derivations. Suppose the Townsend Plan were adopted. This would make *age* capital even though no production were carried on by it. (In fact Townsendites specifically prohibit recipients from engaging in productive labor) How about Russian communism? In Russia, as well as in the Corporate State, there is no free production. The competitive system has been almost completely wiped out. Production and distribution are not carried on under the influence of economic law. Production and distribution are carried out by the *decree of the communist party*. Control is the privilege of party members. Here is a legally created privilege, upheld by force and violence, by the side of which the privileges of private capitalists pale into insignificance. The enormous exploitation possibilites have not been taken advantage of, first, because of the newness of the system and the remaining remnants of revolutionary enthusiasm, honesty, and sincerity, second, because the productive possibilities were not large enough to warrant exploitation by the bureaucracy, and thirdly, by the danger of flagrant exploitation and its effect on the revolutionary world at large. But the State Socialism of Russia, as well as the many proposed schemes of productive and distributive monopoly, are as much capitalism, and far more pregnant of exploitation possibilities, as the Capitalism existing in any so-called democratic regime.

LAURANCE LABADIE.

The rulers of England threaten now to act alone against Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, if the "League of Nations" doesn't. And it was the very same British rulers who have been preventing any real action by the League, lest revolution may follow, and drive Mussolini out of power, ultimately endangering their own reign as well.

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

Pawns of the Devil

Yesterday it was Mussolini who threatened the peace of the world. Today it is Hitler. Tomorrow it will no doubt be the Emperor of Japan. In 1914 it was Kaiser Wilhelm. And thus history keeps on repeating itself.

Yet, the truth is that it is not so much any of the devil incarnate individuals who cause human carnage as it is the systems that each of them represent. All the verbal defenses and accusations offered by this or that ruling power are but cloak-pretentions behind which it is being attempted to hide the chief and only outstanding cause of all wars—*profiteering-commercialism*. The talk about national honor, culture or racial origin are only intended as slogans by which to lead the multitude of human sheep to their slaughter in behalf of a pack of inhuman ruling thieves that today are ruling and ruining the human race.

The very fact that every government in the world *has* and *is continually preparing for human slaughter* gives *the lie to all other pretentions and claims* that are being made by the same governmental heads. Furthermore, any system that needs an established army of educated murderers-to-be to protect itself with is in reality not worth-while to raise a finger for, unless it be against it. This goes as much for the system of Mussolini and Hitler as for the ones of Roosevelt or Stalin. If there be any people existent that have real economic, political and spiritual liberty, such people will no doubt defend any attempted attack upon their well being without any pre-arranged army. But the truth is that there are no longer, if there ever were, people enjoying such blissful happiness. And if so, why on earth should any exploited or ruled human being consent willingly to turn into a murderer?

Those who order wars and their operations never do the dying in them. If they would, no war would last a fortnight, if it were ever to begin at all.

I am very little interested in the humbug games of sanctions by one government against another. I hold out the same indifference to the united front movements sponsored by radicals whose ideal government—Bolshevik ruled Russia—signs secret arm pacts with every willing capitalist government. For I know very well that on the very day that a world war breaks out *every government* will jail or shoot down all such who can see through their sinister designs.

And as we are fast approaching the fatal day of the new ensuing Wholesale Butchery of Mankind I can but say this: Let those of us who have the courage and integrity dare stand up and REFUSE TO BECOME MURDERERS! Let not the Pawns of the Devil, *capitalism or bolshevism, through their governments*, succeed in turning men once more into human vultures! Far more honorable is it going to be for anyone to face jail or the firing squad for acting as freemen ought to, than to die like a dog on the battlefield, or be crowned with medals for having murdered fellow human beings.

* * *

Industrialization's Challenge to Labor

Two hundred thousand railroad workers are now facing the loss of their jobs as a result of impending "consolidations" and "unifications" by the various railroad systems . In the coal fields of Pennsylvania alone 100,000 miners were forced out of the industry since 1920. And so it goes all along the line: if it is not due to consolidations of exploiters, it is due to saving devices brought about by machinery improvements that eliminate human labor, and as a result add to the mounting numbers of unemployed millions of human beings without an opportunity to even earn a bare livelihood.

The railroad workers are looking on and waiting to see what their well paid representatives of the union will do for them. The latter are bargaining as to what sort of compensation should be given to the 200,000 workers that are about to be displaced! In the coal fields the displaced miners have turned to coal bootlegging, mining colleries at a great risk of their lives. The far-fetched extent to which this is now being carried on is best exemplified by Governor Earle's refusal to interfere with this open traffic, since thousands of miners are engaged in it, in an effort to keep themselves and their families alive. One can easily draw upon the imagination as to what is taking place in every other industry where new machines or consolidations are introduced. Worse still, is what is in store for the future as the machine devices keep on being more and more perfected, and the exploiters consolidating.

The great pity of it all lies in the fact that the organized workers look to their officials as the ones who will undoubtedly guide and protect them in their plight of facing total extinction, whilst the unorganized ones look up to the politicians with the same wishful hope. Both would be just as well off to look at the moon to come down to earth and solve their problems for them.

The problems of the displacement of men by machines, child labor and unemployment in general, can never even approach the road toward a real solution as long as the workers fail as yet to realize that since it is *they alone* and *no one else who build up all the industries*, therefore, they and not the high-salarier officials and share holder have the *sole right to own and operate the industries*. After all, those workers who at all times risk their lives to make possible an industrial-machine society, considering the huge sacrifices in human life that such a task entails, and always will, ought to have the sole right to the fullest compensation of the fruits that such a system makes possible.

* * *

Courts and Justice

A fig for those by law protected,
Liberty's glorious feast;
Courts for cowards were erected,
Churches built to please the priest.

—ROBERT BURNS.

How applicable indeed is part of this stanza to the role of the courts in our present plight! One need only recall the nullifications of nearly every patch-reform scheme of the "new deal" by the U. S. Supreme Court of former corporation lawyers. The latest perfidy comes by way of the District of Columbia Supreme Court in the granting of an injunction forbidding the Western Union Telegraph Company from delivering correspondence wanted by the Senate Lobby investigation committee.

One need not have any faith that investigations by any legislative body have ever accomplished anything in the interest of justice to at the same time remain indifferent at the travesty which this injunction conveys. According to the supposedly form of democracy that the Congress and Senate is founded upon, either legislative body has at all times the right to investigate and subpena any one and any body implicated in any investigation. But it has happened on more than one occasion that rich thieves defied such investigations, with the aid of high priced attorneys. Now the "liberty" league of America's leading thieves have become even more arrogant and joined forces with the arch defender of "freedom," the mistress keeper W. R. Hearst, who applied for and obtained the injunction in question.

I see no reason to shed any tears over the league of thieves' victory through courts that they have at all times had full control over. I only hope this latest denouement of the courts may aid in opening the eyes of many as to the sham and deceit which is embodied in our form of "democracy" wherein the law can *at all times be twisted to serve only one interest*, those of *thievery* and *misrule*.

* * *

Have the Disinherited a Right to Live?

Last winter the rulers of Florida turned back 10,000 transients, classed as "vagrants." These attempted to enter the state in order to somewhat mitigate their burdens as deprived victims of an unjust system of society. They were seeking a warmer shelter for their worn-down bodies. But nowadays even sunshine and air are limited only to those who can pay for it. The poor no longer have the right to warm their bodies against the sunshine, nor breathe the fresh air. So decreed the rulers of the richest play resort in the country!

This year California's fascist rulers are emulating the Florida ones. The Los Angeles chief of police and the Chambers of Commerce robbers have stationed patrols on every state border entrance, as well as invading the cheaper rooming houses of the city, in order to keep out and rid the city of the "angels" from "vagrants."

Such is the method by which the present rulers of our lives are attempting to cope with the destitution and want that their own system of cheat, rob and rule has brought about!

The liberals are again busy shouting about constitutional rights, and the attorney general who has been protecting all sorts of fascist misdeeds and lynchings appeased the liberals by lamely muttering a legal opinion that what is being done is "unconstitutional."

In 1886 Clement Duval (see page 1) arose in a court in France to defend *his right to take from the robbers of life what he needed for his family*. And this *right, the right to live*, is so indisputable and *just* that law or no law, constitutional or unconstitutional—the right proclaimed by Clement Duval—will sooner or later be likewise proclaimed by the disinherited even in this land of the du Ponts and Rockefellers!

* * *

Bolsheviks and Veracity

Under the heading "A Rebel's Escape" Joseph Gollomb described in the *Daily Worker* of Jan. 12, 1936, Peter Kropotkin's escape from the Military Hospital. The final sentences of the last paragraph reads:

There remains but an ironic footnote to this story. Kropotkin never returned to Russia. He was an anarchist by philosophy and temperament. So when the Revolution for which he and his comrades had striven figally came in 1917 and the workers and peasants were in power, Kropotkin turned on the great event and denounced it. Which does not make his escape from the Military Hospital the less a masterpiece of revolutionary ingenuity on the part of his comrades.

For sheer dishonesty and falsification the above just about surpasses anything I have ever come across! Perhaps it would not be amiss to remind the LIAR of the *Daily Worker* that Peter Kropotkin returned to Russia in the year of 1917, that he even met the "great" Lenin once at the latter's request, that Kropotkin and his comrades never turned against the Revolution —*but against the usurpers of the revolution—the Bolsheviks*, that Kropotkin never left Russia until his death on Feb 9, 1921, and that the Bolshevik government did not even allow an uncensored anarchist paper to be issued and distributed at Kropotkin's funeral . . .

A party whose leading organ allows such obvious distortions and intentional concoctions to grace its pages must indeed be pitied, even more than condemned. I only wonder how many of the sober-minded and sincere followers of the Bolshevik movement who read the above intentional string of distortions and falsehoods had the honesty to write to the *Daily Worker* and demand an apology from its editor and "feature writer"?

* * *

Shock Troops and Renegates

The readers have no doubt read of Bolshevik shock troops, fascist shock troops and nazi shock troops. But we are living, so it seems, in a strange world. Only in the last issue comrade Pierre Ramus dealt with some of the anarcho-bolsheviks who changed their minds and once again vindicated the anti-authoritarian sound position of the anarchist movement. But the devouring movements keep on misleading some erstwhile comrades to throw overboard their ideas for "practical" and more "quick results". Yesterday is was Bolshevism that decoyed some. Today it is the Social Credit idea. (See editorial in the February, 1936, issue of MAN! on social credit as another authoritarian scheme whereby to maintain and perpetuate the present system.)

New Democracy, the organ of the social credit movement, brings in its March issue a two-page bold-faced call for Shock Troops. Among the signatures given under the call appears also the names of Harry Kelly and John G. Scott. The first named has been the editor of the 1933 *Freedom*, which was to form an anarchist federation of the English speaking groups throughout the country. The last named was an editor of *Mother Earth*, the Thoreau-anarchist agricultural mimeographed monthly, also now defunct.

The fact of Kelly's and Scott's joining the call for social credit shock troops is even less amazing than three of the leading aims set forth as the immediate objectives of the social credit movement. These read as follows:

To overcome this lack, purchasing power in the form of money must be issued by the government as potential production warrants it.

This dividend must not increase taxes. It must not be accompanied by inflation. It must not involve confiscation or socialization of private property. It must not decrease property values. It must not interfere with private profits from legitimate enterprise, nor with wages or salaries for services rendered.

The excerpts of the aims under which Kelly and Scott have signed speaks for themselves.

The fact must be noted that neither of the two new apostates have found it even as necessary to first explain their change of mind in the anarchist press, or to that part of the anarchist movement that gave them support and trust in conducting anarchist publications. Such action is of very little credit to eithers' ethical conception of responsibility. The anarchist movement can withstand their unexplained renegade action, but I doubt if they can withstand their own actions in the times to come. M. G

The Road to Permanent Peace

Friendship for the friendless, kind words to those who know them not, words of help to those who through ignorance are propagating racial and nationalistic prejudices, the boycott of institutions of war and militarism, and the absolute refusal to sanction or participate in war: these are the ways for America to stay out of war.

War is fostered by and thrives on the ignorance and bigotry of intellectual stagnation, which are perpetuated by a few selfish or misguided individuals who raise and loudly praise racial and international barriers to the free movement of men and ideas. Intelligent and understanding persons can never sanction or participate in war.

So long as Americans are willing to forget that Germans or Italians or Japanese are human beings like themselves, there will be war; so long as slaughter is treated as an impersonal, commercial affair, it will find advocates; so long as America maintains in its government an institution whose sole purpose is to plan ways and means of war, we cannot be assured of keeping out of war.

When men come to measure the word "enemy" in terms of fellow men through whose veins flow the blood of brotherhood, then will war cease to be; when men measure guns and poison gas and bombs in terms of death and human suffering, there will be no war.

There is no panacea for peace! Peace is priceless, gold can never purchase it. War will come if we are willing to devote only a few minutes occasionally for peace. "Elections" should only be minor incidents in our campaign for a world without war; and even then, we should never delegate our duties of action to those who clamor for power, nor should we relax in smug complacence believing that our vital interests are safe in the hands of self-seekers. America's keeping out of war is not alone a matter of concern today; it is a matter that must be faced every day of our lives, a work which must be pursued unceasingly in the face of those who seek to halt and to turn back the wheels of progress to the days of barbarism, against those who seek to keep the human mind enslaved to lies which reap profits for a few.

An individual is shirking his duty to mankind if he does not constantly practice brotherhood, equality, and liberty for all. War is not a matter which can be legislated out of existence; enduring peace will only come by the united action of individuals who are actually willing to work and suffer for it. America can only stay out of war by an awakening of the people to the fact that they, themselves, possess power which is mightier than *any* king, army, government, or dictator; humanity can have *anything* it wants, if it is convinced it wants it.

MELVILLE JACKSON

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IDEAS OF ANARCHISM: Education and the Individual

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

Want of liberty, by strengthening law and decorum, stupefies conscience . . . This is the history of governments—one man does something which is to bind another. A man who cannot be acquainted with me, taxes me; looking afar at me, ordains that a part of my labor shall go to this or that whimsical end, not as I, but as he happens to fancy.

Hence, the less government we have, the better—the fewer laws, and the less confided power. The antidote to this abuse of formal government is the influence of private character, the growth of the individual; the appearance of the principal to supersede the proxy . . . The appearance of character makes the State unnecessary. The wise man is the State. He needs no army, fort, or navy—he loves men too well, no bribe, or feast, or palace, to draw friends to him: no vantage ground, no favorable circumstance. . . .

But our institutions, though in coincidence with the spirit of the age, have not exemptions from the practical defects which have discredited other forms. Every actual State is corrupt. Good men must not obey the laws too well. What satire on government can equal the severity of censure conveyed in the word politic, which now for ages has signified cunning; intimating that the State is a trick.

The old, who have seen through the hypocrisy of courts and statesmen, die, and leave no wisdom to their sons. They believe their own newspapers, as their fathers did at their age.

If a man found himself so rich-natured that he could enter into strict relations with the best persons, and make life serene around him by the dignity and sweetness of his behaviour, could he afford to circumvent the favor of caucus and the press, and covert relations hollow and pompous, as those of a politician? Surely nobody would be a charlatan who could afford to be sincere.

The tendencies of the times favor the idea of self-government, and leave to the individual, for all code, to the rewards and penalties of his own constitution, which work with more energy than we believe, whilst we depend on artificial restraints.

On the other hand, let not the most conservative and timid fear anything from a premature surrender of the bayonet, and the system of force. For, according to the order of nature, which is quite superior to our will, it stands thus: there will always be a government of force, where men are selfish; and when they are pure enough to abjure the code of force, they will be wise enough to see how these public ends of the post office, of the highway, of commerce, and the exchange of property, of museums and libraries, of institutions of art and science can be answered.

We live in a very low state of the world, and pay unwilling tribute to governments founded on force. There is not, among the most religious and instructed men . . . a reliance on the moral sentiment, and a sufficient belief in the unity of things to persuade them that society can be maintained without artificial restraints, as well as the solar system; or that the private citizen might be reasonable, and a good neighbor, without the hint of a jail or a confiscation . . . I do not call to mind a single human being who has steadily denied the authority of the laws, on the simple ground of his own moral nature . . . there are now men . . . to whom no weight of adverse experience will make it for a moment appear impossible, that thousands of human beings might exercise toward each other the grandest and simplest sentiments, as well as a knot of friends, or a pair of lovers.

* * *

A party is perpetually corrupted by personality. Whilst we absolve the association from dishonesty, we cannot extend the same charity to their leaders. They reap the rewards of the docility and zeal of the masses, which they direct. Ordinarily, our parties are parties of circumstance, and not of principle; as, the planting interest in conflict with the commercial, the party of capitalists, and that of operatives, parties which are identical in their moral character, and which can easily change ground with each other, in the support of many of their measures.

The principle no longer looks so self-evident as it appeared in former times, partly because doubts have arisen whether too much weight had not been allowed in the laws to property, and such a structure given to our wages, as allowed the rich to encroach the poor, and to keep them poor, but mainly, because there is an instinctive sense, however obscure and yet inarticulate, that the whole constitution of property, or its present tenures, is injurious, and its influence on persons deteriorating and degrading.

The popular education has been taxed with a want of truth and nature. It was complained that an education to things was not given. We are students of words: we are shut up in schools, and colleges, and recitation rooms, for ten or fifteen years, and come out at last with a bag of wind, a memory of words, and do not know a thing. We cannot use our hands, or our legs, or our eyes, or our arms. We do not know an edible root in the woods, we cannot tell our course by the stars, nor the hour of day by the sun . . . We are afraid of a horse, of a cow, of a dog, of a snake, of a spider.

But is not this absurd, that the whole liberal talent of this country should be directed in its best years on studies which lead to nothing?

In alluding just now to our system of education, I spoke of the deadness of its details. But it is open to graver criticism than the palsy of its members; it is a system of despair. The disease with which the human mind now labors, is want of faith. Men do not believe in a power of education. We do not think we can speak to divine sentiments in man, and we do not try. We renounce all high aims. We believe that the defects of so many preserve and so many frivolous people, who make up society, are organic, and society is a hospital of incurables . . . Is it strange that society should be devoured by a secret melancholy, which breaks through all its smiles, and all its gaiety and games?

When the literary class betrays a destitution of faith, it is not strange that society should be disheartened and censualized by unbelief. What remedy? Life must be lived on a higher

RALPH WALDO EMERSON
(1803 - 1882)

plane. We must go up to a higher platform, to which we are always invited to ascend; there, the whole aspect of things changes.

Men in all ways are better than they seem. They like flattery for the moment, but they know the truth for their own . . . What is it we heartily wish of each other? Is it to be pleased and flattered? No, but to be convicted and exposed, to be shamed of our nonsense of all kinds, and made men instead of ghosts and phantoms. We are weary of gliding ghostlike through the world, which is itself so light and unreal. We crave a sense of reality, though it comes in strokes of pain. I explain so—by this manlike love of truth, those excesses and errors into which souls of great vigor, but not equal in sight, often fall . . . .

We are paralyzed with fear; we hold on to our little properties, house and land, office and money, for the bread which they have in our experience yielded us, although we confess, that our being does not flow through them.

That which befits us, embosomed in beauty and wonder as we are, is cheerfulness and courage, and the endeavor to realize our aspirations. The life of man is the true romance, which, when it is valiently conducted, will yield the imagination a higher joy than any fiction. All round us, what powers are wrapped up under the coarse mattings of custom, and all wonder prevented. It is so wonderful to our neurologists that a man can see without his eyes, that it does not occur to them that it is just as wonderful that he should see with them; and that it is ever the difference between the wise and the unwise. The latter wonders at what is unusual, the wise man wonders at the usual. Shall not the heart which has received so much, trust the Power by which it lives? May it not quit other leadings, and listen to the Soul that has guided it so gently, and taught it so much, secure that the future will be worthy of the past?

It is of little moment that one or two, or twenty errors of our social system be corrected, but of much that the man be in his senses.

Do not be so vain of your one objection. Do you think there is only one? Alas! my good friend, there is no part of society better than any other part. All our things are right and wrong together. The wave of evil washes all our institutions alike. Do you complain of our Marriage? Our marriage is no worse than our education, our diet, our trade, our social customs.

In the midst of abuses, in the heart of the cities, in the aisles of false churches, alike in one place and in another—wherever, namely, a just and heroic soul finds itself, there it will do what is next at hand, and by the new quality of character it shall put forth, it shall abrogate that old condition, law or school in which it stands, before the law of its own mind.

The world is waking to the law of union, and these experiments show what it is thinking of. It is, and will be, magic. Men will live and communicate, and plough, and reap . . . as by added ethereal power, when once they are united, as in a celebrated experiment . . . But this union must be inward, and not one of covenants, and is to be reached by a reverse of the methods they use . . . It is the union of friends who live in different streets or towns. Each man, if he attempt to join himself to others, is on all sides cramped and diminished of his proportion; and the stricter the union, the smaller and more pitiful he is. But leave him alone, to recognize in every hour and place the secret soul, he will go up and down doing the works of a true member, and, to the astonishment of all, the work will be done with concert, though no man spoke . . . The union must be ideal in actual individualism.

The World We Live In

France's new minister of war, General Louis Maurin, is accused of receiving a yearly salary from the Schneider-Creusot Cannon & Munition Company in addition to his yearly pension . . . The Stoke Newington *Citizen*, Socialist-Labor organ of England, writes in its February issue: "*King Edward VIII. ascends the Throne amid universal goodwill. Everyone wishes him well. That his reign may be long and prosperous is the heartfelt desire of all.*" . . . Federal employes of U. S. numbered 6,327 in 1816 and 796,297 in 1935 . . . "Auto *accidents have increased our business 60 per cent. If it wasn't for them, we wouldn't have much to do.*"—George A. Johnson, of the Artificial Limb Company . . . If the $4,800,000,000 federal relief appropriation for 1935 would be divided up (without any expenditures) among 3,500,000 families, each family would have received $850, leaving 8 million other needy families to subsist on charity or semi-starvation . . . Arthur Henderson, socialist and laborite, left 24,000 pounds. Moscow, the "proletarian ruled" city boasts a new hotel with 1,200 rooms running from $4.60 up to $20 for a suite of four rooms . . . The Finance Reconstruction Corporation handed out a loan of $800,000 to the Mooresville, N. C. Cotton Mills, four weeks after the workers went out on a strike . . . John Edelman, research director for the American Hosiery Workers, charges the WPA administration with financing a string of sweatshops under the guise of "vocational training schools", each plant costing from $22,000 to $45,000. He likewise charges that an open garment shop at Columbus, Miss., obtained parole of 100 women prisoners of Oklahoma to be transported to that factory . . . Dr. A. G. Crane, head of the University of Wyoming, ordered removed from an exhibition five nude studies . . . Congressman Harry Sauthoff charges that in this coming year America will spend $4,600,000 for war—when the bonus, veterans' benefits, war debt interest, and army and navy expenses are figured in.

Fred Cairns, accused of being the leader of the mob that brutally assaulted, tarred and feathered Jack Green and Sol. Nitzberg, of Santa Rosa, Cal., has used both victims for damages for—assault and battery! . . . Mrs. Mabel Eaton, of Bloomfield, N. J. lost the custody of her children by virtue of the husband producing as evidence of her unfitness—the communist manifesto and an IWW songbook . . . Congressman Vito Marcontonio, erstwhile buddy of Mayor La Guardia of New York City, found himself arrested by La Guardia's police chief when he attempted to lead an unemployment demonstration. The police chief termed it "protective custody." Leslie Cleary, District Attorney of Stanislaus County, Cal., demanded that two professors, Dr. Max Radin and Harry Canover, be dismissed because in struggles between workers and exploiters they dare to take the side of the first . . . Dr. Earl E. Cummins, Professor of Economics at Union College, predicted that the government control of labor unions is paved by the Wagner Labor Relations Act. . . Major William L .Ball presided over a meeting in New York City on February 29, 1936, where Phelps Phelps, former assemblyman sputtered: "The only Thing the radical knows is force, and he must be met with the same weapon." . . . Every fascist of the country was up in the air about the Columbia Broadcasting Company granting to Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist party, 15 minutes "free time" on March 5th, although Red baiter Hamilton Fish was arranged to answer Browder the next day. Now that Browder had spoken no one seems to know whether it was Roosevelt or some other "new dealer" that spoke—that is how much "revolutionism" there is left nowadays to a communist. . .

Small time robbers helped themselves to 54 revolvers and 8 rifles right from the police headquarters of the metropolitan city of the country . . . Exploiting utility and railway thieves of America may soon find it unprofitable to operate their schemes in Mexico—now valued at one billion dollars. Increasing demands by the workers is given as the cause . . . Rich Mary McElroy who has been kidnapped three years ago for a $30,000 ransom went to visit the imprisoned men at Jefferson City, Mo. "They can be good citizens right where they are."—stated Mary . . .

BERT HILLSIDE.

To One Dead In April

April is here again while you lie mute
Under your green covering of dew-drowned grass.
You lie cold when moon-shadows
Caress the lifted leaves.

The grass above you rises,
Waves, and dances in the wind . . .
Unbroken night-hours pass over your low bed
Where through the lonely years you remain
Waiting, waiting . . . endlessly waiting.

Oh beautiful April!——
Cruel April!——
Tonight I hear your voice——
Tonight I see you waking
From your long, long sleep!

MATT SLAY

CORRESPONDENCE and DISCUSSION

"If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought, Let It Crack!"—WENDEL PHILLIPS

Expounding Free Economy

Dear Sir:—

I received copy of your paper. Free Economy, as advocated by the Way Out, is based on the teaching of Proudhon-Gesell. While Proudhon found that money, the ur-capital, as Lasalle said, was a bar to the market instead of being a key, Gesell found the ways and means to make it a key to the market; to become according to natural law; to function as the perfect equivalent of all commodities, to be their generalized equivalent form, and distribute the entire production so that it can go on. The fact that continuation of production will drown capitalism in an ocean of wealth, at least, of as much as man wants, compels us to investigate the two factors making production possible: land, the source of all wealth, and, in the developed division of labor, the medium of exchange, which really does the exchanging of services and products, freely, without tribute exaction.

Land belongs to all, not to a few, not to the state but to all humanity. It is our birth-right. But how can we allow anarchy when there are good and bad pieces of land and all want to have the best pieces? To leave freedom, unlimited freedom, will limit the freedom of each and every one. Only one thing can be done: the advantage connected with the better pieces of land, quality of soil, location, etc., which the user will have and which is not due to him but to nature and to the fact that other people exist besides him with less good land, has to be refunded. No bureacrat to decide on how much this advantage is to be, but man himself, in public auction bidding for the rent on land which he will be willing to pay for the special advantages. It would be unjust to allow him to keep such an advantage, which he has not created and it would lead to quarrel and death, as it always has done. The rent on land collected by the community and redistributed to all, to those who create it. In last analysis we can say: let mothers, the creators of the population, have it as an annuity according to the number of their children. We all pass through childhood, we all would get the benefit until we are able to look after our own. But this redistribution of rent of land is a mere technical problem.

We may include in it, invalids, and others, infirm, etc.

Man has the right to work, to produce on the land. To keep his product, to exchange it, to sell it, to give it away free, if he wants. But if an exchange is to take place, then we must face the problem as Proudhon faced it without finding its solution, the solution found by Gesell.

It would lead me too far to explain you that here. Free Economy is the nearest approach to a society with as little state as possible. He who wants still less is a phantast. He who wants more, wants too much. All must have the same right to land. The access must be regulated in free competition, not by means of arms, but in a social way. The other necessary factor for a truly free society is a money with the same urge to enter the market for exchange as the commodities because of the universal law of perishability. A money not endowed with this urge will act as a bar, not as a key to the market, as Proudhon said. How such a money is made, can be seen by studying Gesell or the free-economic literature.

I am mailing you a circular on the subject. It may tell you something. Free Economy is anarchy in its true sense. It eliminates the rule of others and the etate. It grants the highest possible freedom to men, the freedom which finds it's limit only where the freedom of fellowman begins. And that is its natural limitation. Freedom as an ideal, as the perfection, is very imperfect, is no freedom any more, because it ends in suppression. Free Economy provides for the second nature given limitation to man's freedom, at least economically. The rest is his personal business, and not somebody else's.

HUGO R. FACK

The writer of the above is the editor of "The Way Out," *the organ of the Free Economy movement in this country. I am forced to take some exceptions to certain statements made by the writer. Proudhon, he states, faced the problem "without finding the solution." That is taking too much for granted. One may not agree with the solution offered by Proudhon, but it certainly does not speak well for one to assert something which is as far fetched from reality as one's imagination could invent.*

The attempts made by the writer to show how close to anarchy the Free Economy theory is, accompanied by his efforts to show how impossible true freedom is, answers itself perfectly. Only this might be added, that this movement takes its place along the side of the many other authoritarian salvation movements that are being offered to mankind.—EDITOR.

* * *

Anarchism An Impossibility?

I think your paper contains more real *meat* than any other radical periodical that has ever come to my attention. I may not always agree with the opinions expressed in its pages, but they never fail to demand my respect. I am sick of slogans—sick of capitalist slogans and communist slogans, yes, and of anarchist slogans. MAN! is seldom guilty of them. I don't care what a man is so long as he arrives at his creed independently. The writers who appear in MAN! seem to do that.

I was much pleased to see my paragraph on Russia and my letter in your paper. Now don't mistake me if I argue a bit. I am always getting into trouble by trying to be the devil's advocate, but I feel that the best way of clarifying my own ideas is to question everything. I can argue quite as well on one side of a proposition as the other, and am quite apt to argue on both. Your criticism of my letter was well founded. Now let us see what I can muster in return.

You question the possibility of intelligence developing under the present forms of society. That seems to resolve itself into: which will come first, the hen or the egg? *Ideal* anarchism cannot exist without 100 per cent intelligence on the part of humanity. But you can't get a 100 per cent intelligence until you achieve Utopia. It seems to me, therefore, that there must be a series of steps between capitalism and anarchism, some of which will be upward and some downward, but the average motion being progressive. Literacy is too young for us to know what its effects may be. An ignorant man who can read is far beyond an ignorant man who cannot read in his potentiality for becoming intelligent and socially conscious. Just as capitalism has fostered greater literacy than feudalism, so such intermediate forms and socialism and communism will foster more and more literacy. Of course, each system cramps thought in one direction as much as it widens it in another, but I am enough a believer in progress, enough an optimist, to think that sooner or later the balance will be in favor of intelligence.

Now of course an anarchist state would be a paradox, but I don't think the human race can avoid giving birth to such a paradox sooner or later. You are reckoning without native human inequalities if you think otherwise. As we progress, these inequalities are smoothed out, but there are always going to be a few men who are immoral: that is, greedy for more than their share, unwilling to work, and unscrupulous in getting what they want. A few such men can make a good deal of trouble. Moreover, there are always going to be a few who are stupid enough or indifferent enough to tolerate exploitation. And the minute you try to protect the weak against the strong, and the honest whole against the dishonest part, you have a nucleus for government. It was so that all government began—in the tribal organization for self-protection, which grew into the confederacy of tribes, and finally into the nation. What is to prevent such an evolution from repeating itself? In the ideal anarchy, exploitation and crime will be far more difficult than under the present system, and will yield far less reward, but there is always going to be the type of individual who would rather hit his neighbor over the head and steal his apples than plant a tree of his own.

The new anarchism would have another and more dangerous tendency to combat. It is foolish to suppose that many attempts to establish anarchy will not be made prematurely—before the greater part of humanity fully understands the anarchist ideal and is willing to live up to it. And there will always be dissenters. Do you realize that there is not a single proposition, however simple, that is self-evident to all men, that there is none to which all men will acquiesce? It is a fundamental human trait to hold different opinions, and I am glad that it is, for it is out of friction that mind grows. But the minute government is destroyed and anarchism is established, there will be groups who will try to destroy it, either for selfish reasons, or because they have conscientious objections. And immediately anarchism will try to protect itself, and the minute it does so, it is forced to organize, and the minute it organizes it becomes institutionalized and begins to die. When we say: "Anarchy is the supreme good," we deny every other concept its right to exist. We make rebellion against anarchy a crime. But anarchy is itself rebellion. And so, as soon as anarchy gains power, it begins to fight itself, and the complete, ideal, condition is never reached. But complete anarchism, like complete Agnosticism, is a negation and an impossibility.

I think that it is better so. Perfection is stagnation. When all men are ready to agree on any principle, it will be time to ring down the curtain on growth. Growth is and must be a search for ultimate truth. If we achieve the ultimate, we die.

JANET NEWTON

Our friend Janet Newton proves by her letter how close she can write pro and con on one and the same subject. But in doing this her final arguments limp quite a bit. She is against terming "anarchy as the supreme good" because it thereby denies other concepts the right to exist. But I am prompted to ask: where did she gather such an anarchist attitude toward other ideas? Since this is totally erroneous the whole argument she builds up for the need of force to protect anarchy falls apart. Her final argument that if we achieve the ultimate—we die—is an old-time shibboleth which sensible people ought not keep on repeating. For, translated into life, what else does it imply but that we ought never to let truth, justice and equality triumph? Then why all the struggle, effort and sacrifices that man repeatedly makes in order to achieve these ultrarian aims?

EDITOR.

EXCHANGING with MAN!

Advance Thought Index—W. D. Rowell, editor. Box 456, London, Ontario, Canada. 60 cents per year.

Better Verse.—Poetry Magazine. Published five times a year. Irl Morse, editor. Akeley, Minn. $1.50 per year.

Canadian Railway Employees' Monthly.—English and French. Union organ. 1405 Bishop Street, Montreal, Canada.

Class Struggle.—Organ of the Communist League of Struggle. 46-page mimeographed monthly. Favoring a Fourth Communist International. Albert Weisbord, editor. $2 a year sealed or $1.50 third class. 133 Second Avenue, New York.

Comment.—Literary and Critical Magazine. Martin Gardner, editor. University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 15 cents per copy.

Commonwealth College Fortnightly.—A bulletin. Mena, Arkansas. $1 per year.

Fantasy.—A poetry quarterly, using also prose articles and stories. Stanley Dehler Meyer, editor. 950 Heberton Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. $1 per year.

Fight.—Monthly organ of the American League Against War. Joseph Pass, editor. 112 East 19th Street, New York City. 50 cents per year.

Freedom.—A monthly journal of Libertarian Thought, Work and Literature. 2, Malden Crescent, London. N. W. I. England. 50 cents per year.

Free Lance Writers' Journal—Jean Graham Low, editor. 360 Preston St., Ottawa, Canada. Bi-monthly. $1.00 year.

Green International Bulletin.—10 pages, mimeographed. Records war resistance activities throughout the world. Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, editor. 132 E. 65th Street, New York City. 50 cents per year.

Humanity. Morton Alexander, editor . Religious—radical monthly. Box 213, Arvada, Colo. $1.00 per year.

Labor Chest News.—Two pages. William English Walling, editor. Anti-nazi and anti-fascist. A. F. of L. sponsor. 3 W. 16th Street, New York.

Labor and Socialist Press Service.—Weekly mimeographed press releases. 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

Maryland Leader.—Socialist party weekly. Charles S. Bernstein, editor. 1029 E. Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Md. Five cents per copy.

Museum Echoes.—The Ohio State Museum. Harlow Lindley, editor. Monthly. Columbus, Ohio.

New Democracy.—Monthly organ of Social Credit. Carries literary section. Gorham Munson, editor. 66 Fifth Avenue, New York City. $1.25 per year.

No Frontier News Service.—An independent agency of information of world affairs. Devere Allen, editor. Wilton, Conn.

Now and Then—H. J. Krier, editor. Monthly. Marked Tree, Arkansas. 5 cents per copy.

Pax International.—Monthly organ of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom. 12, rue du Vieux-College, Geneva, Switzerland. 50 cents per year.

Peace.—A religious-peace magazine. Swami Omkar, editor. Totapalli Hills Santi Asram Post (Via) Peddapuram, Godavari t., India. 3 Rs. per year.

Press Service.—Mimeographed weekly release organ of the American Civil Liberties Union. 31 Union Square, New York City.

Press Service.—Mimeographed bulletin of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Press Service.—International Anti-Militarist news release. Mimeographed. Appears 15 times yearly. $2. Han Kuijsten, 4 Hugo De Grootlaan, Heemstede, Holland.

Regeneration.—Health and sex journal. Dr. Walter Seigmeister, editor. $1 per year. Valley Cottage, N. Y.

Silhouettes.—Quarterly poetry journal. James Neill Northe, editor. 303 Rosewood Court, Ontario, Calif. $1 per year.

Soviet Russia.—Organ of the American Friends of the Soviet Union. Monthly. Edwin Seaver, editor. 824 Broadway, New York City. $1 per year.

Stoke Newington Citizen.—Political monthly organ of the Co-operatives. 8 Temple Avenue, E. C. 4, Stoke Newington, England.

The American Guardian.—A pro-Socialist, Epic, Communist weekly. Oscar Ameringer, editor. P. O. Box 1355, Oklahoma City, Okla. $1 per year.

The Arbitrator.—Monthly pacifist-atheist news digest. William Floyd, editor. 114 E. 31st Street, New York City. 50 cents per year.

The Indian Naturopath.—A health monthly magazine. Dr. P. Venkataramayya, editor. Bezwada (S. India.) $1.50 per year.

The Industrial Worker.—Weekly organ of the Industrial Workers of the World. F. W. Thompson, editor. 2422 N. Halstead Street, Chicago, Ill. $1.50 per year.

The Labor Call.—Weekly political-trade union organ. 24 Victoria Street, Carlton, No. 3, Melbourne, Australia. Five shillings per year.

The Llano Colonist.—Weekly organ of the Llano Colony. Harold Emery, editor. Newllano, La. $1 per year.

The Social Frontier—George S. Counts, editor. Monthly. A real radical educational journal of the social minded teaching profession in this county. 34 W. 124th St., New York City. $2.00 per year.

The Truth Seeker.—Atheist-Freethinker monthly. George E. MacDonald, editor. 49 Vesey Street, New York City. $1 per year.

The Versemaker—Poetry quarterly. Rachel Albright and Jeannette Seletz, editors. 1350 E. 53rd St., Chicago, Ill.

The Workers' Monthly—A Socialist-Labor and pro-Bolshevik tabloid. Brixham, The Mount, Guildford, England. One penny.

Union Labor Journal—A trade union weekly, pro-epic. Allenson E. Sessions, editor. $2.00 per year.

Unity—A Christian-Socialist semi-monthly. John Haynes Holmes, editor. 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill. $3 per year.

Vanguard—A quarterly 32-page pamphlet, size-organ of anarcho-syndicalism. 45 W. 17th St., New York City. 10 cents per copy.

Vegetarian, Fruitarian and Humanitarian—Most wide-awake social-health journal in America. Jean Roberts Albert, editor. Lewiston, Idaho. $1.00 per year.

(List of Foreign Language Exchanges will appear in a subsequent issue.)

ART AND LITERATURE

Virtue In Stickville*

Samuel Polinow

Tragi-Comedy in one act, five scenes.
Time—any time.
Place—any place.

SCENE I—*On the Veranda*

(Several of Stickville's townspeople, all of advanced age, sit lazily on the veranda of the borough's general store, discussing very earnestly, between curls of pipe smoke and streams of tobacco juice, the great event that is going to take place tomorrow morning in the courtyard jail.)

One. I say, Jedge, is it all set for tomorrow's hangin'?

Judge. Well it ought to be. Our sheriff knows all the tricks of the game.

Another. The scoundrel! He should be hanged twice for the dastardly act he done to a decent an' respectable woman of our community.

Another. See here, pardner, if I had my way I'd sure dip him in hot pitch first 'fore puttin' the noose 'round him.

Another. 'Twuz a despicable shame us folks are set to bear. Come to thinkin' 'twuz wurse t'n rape when the wife of a marriaged husband is subjectin' to attack.

Another. If I was the jedge I'd tear him limb from limb, the daggone female-chasin' cuss.

(The boisterous tirades suddenly come to a stop, as all porch-sitters huddle together around a whisperer, who is telling something of a very intimate secrecy. Shoulders rub together, whiskers touch one another like friendly pals, and eyes, that long have lost life's lustre, are rekindled with a beaming sparkle.)

Whisperer. Say, Jedge, 'been up to Hattie's hereof late?

Judge. No Alvy, not in some moons.

Whisperer. Well, jedge, I'll let ye in on somethin'.—She's got a new one, a sweet peech, only 16 . . . Mazie, dat's what they call her. Comes from B'dway where they go snake-dancin' with no tights on, he, he, he!

Judge. You've been lookin' 'em over, eh?

Whisperer. Sure did, jedge.

Judge. Much obliged, Alvy. . .

(While the curtain is slowly lowered, some horse-whippers of the younger set side-blink at each other, which the patrons are requested to interpret: "We know what-you're up to you old fogies" . . .)

Curtain

SCENE II.—*Behind the Barn*

(Way yonder, where the Town's last house stands—a kind of farmer's homestead. A bright April evening it is, with glittering stars and a full moon. On the prairie side of the deserted barn, where stacks of hay are piled up for the morrow's haul, are seen two figures of human beings—like two shadows of the dark they appear—clinging to one another in close embrace. All is quiet; only passionate whisperings from the mysterious couple break the silence of the peaceful-sleeping night.)

She. My dear, I've been longing so much to see you.

He. Me too, my love, but you know I've had such an important duty to perform.

She. Yes, I know it dear. My husband told me how you both stood up for convicting that seducer of women.

He. It had to be so, my love. Let this serve as a lesson to all misguided youths who have no respect for womanhood.

She. Well, tomorrow justice will be done.

He. Yes, tomorrow he shall hang on a rope—and let the whole world know how Stickville avenges the honor of a woman's virtue.

She. My husband was so enraged at the adultery that he vowed to spit in his face 'fore the trap is sprung on him.

He. He's darn right. If I get my chance I sure'll help throw the noose 'round him.

She. Let's drop it. We ought not waste any time now that we're together again.

He. Suits me well, my love, what do you say?

She. It's all up to you sweets . . .

(All is quiet. The moon struts majestically on her lonely path, the stars shimmer from above in fiery sparkle, and the crickets buzz a harmonious chirping that falls in with the rustling of a hay-bed where arms are clasped in passionate embrace.)

Curtain

SCENE III.—*Mr. Tommyzane and his Negro Maid*

(The town's coming from evening prayer. The preacher, dressed in black robe and pointed cassock, stands on the doorway of his little church, smiling affably to every passing-out parishioner, who smile back at him with a Christian "God-bless-you," and depart for their respective family dwellings. Mr. Tommyzane nods his God-blessin' to the preach, and sideways himself from the good folks, to sneak away on a lonely road where the cotton-seed is a-growin' and Negro maids are a-plowin'.)

Mr. Tommyzane. (Embracing his black Missie who had been waiting for him). Listen, sweetie, there's a-gwina be some swell show tomorrow morning'. Them constables have done all the nailin' up for that swine to go hangin' fo' rapin that woman.

Missie. (Very much downcast). I'm shu' tired of hearin' all that. Ebery day we's heah nothin' but hangin', hangin', hangin'!

Mr. Tommyzane. Now don't be a-squakwin' my sweetie. Don'tje understand I wuz one of 'em jedges that went subscribin' on the verdict?

Missie. Is ye really was one of them jedges, mistah Tommzin'?

Missie. That's mighty nice of you, mistah Tommzin'. (Downcast again). But I ain'd much conce'ned 'bout other folks' troubles. I shu have me own to brood o'er.

Mr. Tommyzane. Ah, don't go lectorin' me again. I knows myse'f what ye broodin' fo', but that's not gonna help nowhow. You go with me to that Big City wh'e them doctors immijetly 'll choke it out like there wuz no baby 'tall . . .

Missie. D'ye really supposin' they do it?

Mr. Tommyzane. I shu does, Missie.

Missie. Oh, mistah Tommzine!

Mr. Tommyzane. Now brace up young woman 'n let's have some mo' of them kissin' . . .

(From far away there's a banjo playing an old Negro tune about the "floggins his people got from the tall gintlemen fo' flirtin' with white damsels." But white Mistah and black Missie don't mind it 'tall. The lonely road sees all 'n tells nothin'. . .)

Curtain

SCENE IV.—*In Hattie's Hook Joint*

(A little red brick house, whose drawn windows surround it with an air of something very mysterious . . . In the front room, furnished with a three-piece red-plushed parlor suite and an old-fashioned mirror in gilt-carved frame that stretches from the mantel-piece to the ceiling, two young ladies (Mazie and Flossy) dressed in transparent nighties, sit carelessly on the soft-cushioned settee, and having nothing of any particular to do, take a hand in the topic of the day.)

Mazie. I hope Hattie lets us off tomorrow. I wouldn't wanna miss it for the world.

Flossy. Me neither. I never seen anybody bein' hanged yet.

Mazie. Why are they gonna hang him, Flossy?

Flossy. Don't you know? That skunk! He went 'n misled a married woman 'n when he got her cornered he jest made her be with him; ain't that sumphin'!

Mazie. That's outrageous! After all there ought to be some decency in people.

Flossy. Them palookas! A lot they know how to treat a lady.

Mazie. They don't let 'em get away with it here, do they?

Flossie. You bet they don't. Here folks would break their necks to protect a woman's virtue.

Mazie. Talk about virtue. D'you know 'son's I'm through with my day's work . . . I don't let nobody lay his hand on me —except, of course, my Gaston . . .

Flosy. Me neither. Wanna hear somethin'? One time a guy meets me in a restaurant 'n wants to become familiar with me. He says he knows me . . . Boy, did I smack him in the puss!

Mazie. Isn't it funny, they all think because we're such girls we can't be virtuous.

Flossy. Hell, what is virtue, anyway? It don't stick out from you, does it? You git your day's work done an' you don't know nobody.

Mazie. You're darn tootin'. D'you know, my own mother wouldn't even suspect anything on me. Every week I sends her fifteen dollars—an' you ought to read the letters she writes me. "My Darling, keep up the good work" . . . 'n "Don't forget the prayers" 'n "Try 'n be a good girl" . . . 'n all such nice things.

Flossy. Well, look at me. You think I'm gonna stay all my life in this? Not me, pal! My beau just wants me to save up enough dough so we can fix up a decent home an' git married like all respectable folks.

Mazie. Gee, kid, wouldn't that be swell?

Enter Hattie

Hattie. Git ready, girls, we're havin' a prominent visitor coming.

Hattie. Well, if you must know, it's the only Judge our town can boast of . . .

(A slight rap on the front door is heard. Someone comes into the corridor, and after some prolonged whispers Hattie shows her face through the parlor door, nodding to Mazie . . . Mazie quickly jumps up, and two figures disappears behind the heavy drapes of a side room . . .)

Curtain

SCENE V.—*The Hanging*

(A carnival around Stickville's jailcourt. The whole town's up in holiday spirit. Everybody, dressed in their Sunday's best, flock to the great celebration. Even folks from nearby counties pour into town on horseback, on old hacks and hay-wagons. Shops are closed, church bells toll a solemn chime for the occasion. Vendors display balloons, flags, ices, pretzels and all other kinds of their wares. Grown-ups crane their necks, and little tots are raised above heads to help 'em see over the jail fence. Mirth and gaiety reign supreme for the people of Stickville.

Inside the jailcourt the finishing touches are being applied for the preparation of the great spectacle. Several hundred of Stickville's citizens could only be admitted, and those crowd around the scaffold for a closer view of the execution.

A siren, telling the people of Stickville that the performance is about to begin, is heard in and around the jail. The condemned man, 23 years old, is led into the court manacled to a bailiff, and is unceremoniously assisted on the scaffold. The sheriff then steps forward, and holding up a white document, he begins reading from it in shrill voice for everybody to hear.)

Sheriff (reads). Whereas . . . and whereas . . . and whereas . . . you have been accused of deliberately subduing and attacking the virtue of Mrs.————————; and, whereas . . . . and whereas . . . and whereas . . . . Now, therefore, the people of Stickville have, through their venerable judge and jury, found you guilty of this malicious crime, and have so decreed that you this day————and year————of our Lord, hang on the gallows until life expires from your body. May the Lord have mercy on your soul. *(To the condemned.)* Now, condemned, do you have anything to say?

Condemned. Yes, I have.

(Condemned's final speech.)

"My fellow night adjusters and horsewhippers. This is cold-blooded murder. You should be here in my place. I dare any one of you to come forward and say you've never slept with a woman. Yet I am here about to pay with my life for it while you stand there gluttoning over the pleasant sight you are going to see. (Suddenly he points to his woman accuser.) Woman, are you satisfied now? If I had offered you $500 you'd have taken it! Voice from the woman.) Not even $1000.

Condemned. Woman, what have I taken from you that you prize so highly?

The Woman. You have entered my Temple of Virtue with your filthy body.

Condemned. Woman, is your Temple so sacred that only angels tread in it? . . . (no response.) You know you're lying. Why don't you speak the truth? (To the crowd again.) I don't want any of this country's dirt thrown on my face. Take me back to my own country to be buried. There's sunshine there and there a man can get justice. If any of you night riders have guts enough to shoot a condemned man then go ahead and shoot."

(The tirade over, the bailiffs quickly throw the noose around the youth's neck and spring the trap. The crowd takes great delight in seeing the manacled form dangling up in the air, with his tongue gliding out from the mouth in agonized gasps for breath. The convulsive grimaces on the condemned's face almost turn it into a mask that laughs with scorn and contempt.

The spectacle ends up with the crowd dispersing and telling each other what a "fine job the Sheriff had done" and how "the county ought to be proud of him."

While the curtain is lowered, a bystander is heard to remark, To hang for a thing like that! . . . They should make it a crime to be born in Stickville, where little black girls pick the cotton fields and tall "gintlemen" stand guard over women's virtues . . . .)

Curtain

*Based upon the lynching that has taken place in Stickville, Kentucky, on April 19, 1935.—*Editor.*

San Joaquin

Soothing and ferment, mingled oil and wine
They poured in human wounds and on divine
Altars—resurgent life, abiding peace
Required both by men and gods, release
From weariness and pain.

Thus in the old Esdraelon. In the new
The floaters tend the vines, a ragged queue
Form at the idle derricks. Wine and oil,
Products and arbiters of human toil,
Bring weariness and pain.

GEORGE HEDLEY

• • •

The Poem: THE FREE

In the make-up of the Art and Literature Page the striking poem *The Free*, which appeared in the March issue, received one of those unfortunate deals that the fates, via the printer, hand out every once in a while. In the first stanza, after the tenth line, fell out this line:

Deliver me! Reeall thine own, thy womb—

And in the sixth and seventh stanzas some lines were transposed. The two stanzas are therefore reprinted here in full:

VI

Gradually mind accompanied the rhythms'
Rocketings, smooth and glassy ran its rutted
Course in taut sleep, in weighted hours apportioned
To build some temple of a mad and gutted
Whim, laying lovely fragments, mute, useeing,
In wooden loneliness. Bewilderment
Alone with body's pain consumed today,
Defied and daunted labor, danced, decreeing
Respite in death. Amour of medicine's magic,
Allure of motion, jingle jungle tragic
America commending men to shame—
(Far back Calabria's rebel fires flame)
Labor and pain . . . anathema . . . death's refrain . . .
Zangara, atom, flickered—spilled its pain.

VII

The inner burning outlined men in flame,
Drenched them with scalding radiance. Fire
Purified form—the hanging curve of hunger,
The roots of opulence, the spiralled frame
Desire climbs, the rotting cross of hope.
He walked, entombed in suffering's prison; cries
Of others beat upon the walls, remained
There etched with acid truth. The free are chained,
And choice is all there is of freedom when
Greed is alive. The far green hills again
Are limbo, Liberty's house is chaos. Men
May choose release from hunger or from pain,
Punishable by death for asking why;
Zangara, patriot, prepared to die.

To make the whole picture of mishaps complete, the name of the author is JANICE BROOKE not Janice Brooks as it appeared. For this the editor takes the blame.

DEPORTATIONS UNDER A "NEW DEAL" REGIME

Federal Judge Frances G. Caffey of New York City denied a writ of habeas corpus in the cases of Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto. Pending a new appeal to the Superior Federal Courts they were released on one thousand dollar bonds each on April 4th. Ferrero has been confined on Ellis Island since December 28, 1935 and Sallitto since January 11th, 1936. (Sallitto has also been confined on the same charge at Angels Island, San Francisco, for about two months.)

The Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference of New York (P. O. Box 181, Station D. New York City.) has just published a 16 page pamphlet on the case. In this pamphlet "*Free Ferrero and Sallitto*" the Committee reveals for the first time actual *documentary proofs* as to how close the Fascist government of Italy works with the American government and fascist agencies here. The immigration inspector of Oakland, Cal., who acted as prosecutor and "judge" filed this secret note on September 8, 1935, to the Washington bureau:

. . . I understand that the Italian Consul is very much interested in the deportation of this alien and would only be too glad to issue a passaport for alien's return to Italy. (This refers to Sallitto.—Editor.)

The even far more shameless perfidy is revealed in a communication sent to Commissioner D. W. McCormick from the erstwhile supporter of Upton Sinclair, the District Commissioner of Immigration at San Francisco—Edward W. Cahill, wherein he asserts:

Some newspapers out here are calling frequently inquiring as to whether or not there has been a final decision in these cases. There are also a number of civic organizations showing unusual interest in the two cases . . . One of our Inspectors, who is very familiar with the facts in these cases, informs me that these men appear to feel rather proud of being labelled as anarchists. They are known in the community as anarchists, and should they succeed in overcoming the order of deportation, we shall have to be prepared to "take it on the chin" as the publicity will be very much against our department.

The question of *justice* seems to be of very little concern in the mind of this cowardly "liberal" snake official. Except for the fascist Hearst press no decent newspaper in California has ever taken the stand that this charlatan-fascist-official claims. Likewise no singular organization in California that believes in freedom of the press and freedom of opinion has ever made such demands. We know only of two huge mass meetings, one in San Francisco and one in Los Angeles, representing every political and social movement, excepting the Communist one, that *protested the actions of the labor spying department and demanded the immediate cancelation of the deportation warrants against Ferrero and Sallitto*, since their deportation, if allowed to be carried out, would mark the end of any supposedly existent "freedom of the press", (*their arrest and persecution being part of a general concerted movement aimed directly at the suppression of MAN!*) aside from *endangering their lives and liberty once they are handed over into the claws of Mussolini.*

The circulation of the pamphlet, wide and afar, is at this moment of the utmost importance, just as is the need of an increased avalanche of protests that should be directed at the cowardly "liberal" District Immigration Commissioner of San Francisco—Edward W. Cahill, as well as to the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at Washington—D. W. MacCormick.

The real issue in this case is as to whether an anarchist journal has any right to appear "legally" or shall have to be forced underground in this land of the "free and the brave", just as in the good old days of Czarist and presently Bolshevik ruled Russia.

* * *

Emil Gardos, editor of *Uj Elore*, Hungarian working class newspaper published in Cleveland, is in immediate danger of deportation, according to a letter received on March 3rd by his attorneys. The letter states that a warrant of deportation was issued by Commissioner of Immigration Daniel W. MacCormick on February 27th. Gardos' citizenship was revoked in 1934 because of his allegiance to the working class of America and now he has been ordered deported for the same reason.

Success for the department of labor in this case would mean broadening the interpretation of the deportation laws so that they would affect the lives of the forty million foreign-born or of foreign parentage—one-third of the total population—who live in the United States, instead of some five million non-citizens whom the laws now endanger. Precedent is here being established for the wholesale denial of freedom and rights to both citizens and non-citizens.

Because Gardos helped organize the textile strike of 1926 in Passiac, N. J., and edited a working class newspaper he now faces banishment. At the hearing before Federal Judge Geiger of Milwaukee, Wis., Gardos said: "*I have no higher loyalty than my loyalty to the working class.*" For this statement the judge ordered his citizenship revoked on the ground that Gardos held "mental reservations" when taking the oath of naturalization.

This judge, an amiable old gentleman, a die-hard Republican, listened with a tired look to the arguments of Gardos and his attorneys on the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the sayings and writings of Thomas Paine, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson.

"Bill of Rights?" the judge answered. "No, property rights are supreme!" Then he posed a few questions himself and wound up with: "You Communists would take away the home or the farm of a man acquired after a life of hard labor."

"No, your Honor!" Gardos said. "It is being done every day now by the mortgage holders, backed by court rulings."

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, now in charge of the Gardos' defense, calls for widespread protest against this attack upon the foreign born in an effort to incite prejudice and undermine the security of all. This attempt to "divide and rule" must be defeated by unity of the entire population.

* * *

Fred Werrmann, anti-Fascist held for deportation to Germany, has been granted permission to enter Mexico by the Mexican Embassy, according to a telegram received by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born from the Emergency Committee in Aid of Political Refugees from Nazism.

The department of labor officials have refused to uphold the American tradition of right of asylum and allow Werrmann to remain in the United States as a political refugee. Mexico is glad to have the honor of granting him the right of asylum.

Fred Werrmann came to the United States in 1926 and was arrested by the Chicago "Red" Squad during an unemployment demonstration on September 27, 1934. He was ordered deported by the department of labor on the ground that he was a member of the Communist Party. Werrmann was defended by the ILD, Chicago District Office, before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals which upheld the order of deportation issued by the Department of Labor.

When Werrmann reached Ellis Island on the "deportation" train his case was taken over by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. With the aid of Dr. Bohn, the Committee has finally succeeded in having Werrmann allowed to enter Mexico where the political situation will not work the hardships his departure to Germany would create. Werrmann would be persecuted for his political beliefs in Germany and it is a sad commentary on the plight of freedom in the United States today that an individual should have to go to Mexico in order to find a haven from Fascist oppression.

* * *

Don Agalos has left the United States, deported to Greece on the Europa on the midnight of February 18th. Following is an excerpt from Agalos' letter sent from Ellis Island:

Through the decision of Madam Perkins, Secretary of Labor, and the rest of the bunch of the Labor Department with all the protests from hundreds of locals and Central Labor Bodies and other fraternal and liberal clubs and organizations it was impossible to have Miss Perkins reconsider the case.

Miss Perkins knows well the crime for which I am ordered deported, the crime of organizing the workers for better wages and conditions. This, of course, is a crime against Miss Perkins and the bunch that she represents, the class that maintains the Department of Labor as a tool for keeping the workers terrorized.

Perkins, Hearst, McFadden and the rest of the Fascist crew may celebrate their hard-won battle with a macabre dance. But the workers of the United States will not forget that for four years they were able to stave off their attack on me.

And so I pass on, confident that hundreds of others will rise to take my place, confident that in the ever-growing unity that develops out of just such battles as these, we will finally emerge as victors.

(*Signed*) DAN AGALOS

Agalos came to the United States in 1910, at the age of fourteen. He went to Omaha, Nebraska, then to North Platte, then to Great Falls, Montana. In Butte, Agalos participated in the great General Strike of 1917 and, in 1922, in the Shop Craft Strike in Montana. And, with the same spirit, he led the Unemployment Councils and the fight to organize the railroad workers. On June 29, 1933, Agalos was arrested in Spokane, Washington, and held for deportation.

Goodbye, Dan! Organizer for the Railroad Brotherhood Unity Movement, Member of the Brotherhood of Maintenance and Ways, Lodge 435, for sixteen years. Member of the Western Federation of the Mine and Smelter Workers. Member of the International Labor Defense for eleven years. Member of the Cooks and Waiters, Local 400, A. F. of L., Spokane, Washington.

Goodbye, Dan!

* * *

On February 14th, *Der Deutsche Staats-Zeitung*, a German newspaper published in New York City, printed the following under the heading GERMAN GENERAL CONSULATE:

The above-mentioned persons are asked to report, or deliver their address at the German General Consulate, 17 Battery Place, Room 1941, in the hours of 9 a. m. to 2 p. m., Saturdays until 12. At the same time those who know about the present whereabouts of those listed are asked to inform the German Consulate.

And, down on the list given appears the name:

Saupe, Walter, born May 2, 1916, in Penig.

The above appeared in the *Staats-Zeitung* on Friday. Monday, February 17th, Walter Saupe, nineteen-year-old refugee from Fascist oppression, was arrested without a warrant by an Immigration Inspector at the Louvre Buffet, 50 John Street, and taken to Ellis Island.

Saupe was working as a bussboy at the Louvre. A few months ago he was forced to leave his ship after the Captain threatened him with arrest on their return to Germany because Saupe had refused to salute the Swastika.

The announcement made by the German Consulate followed almost immediately by Saupe's arrest and deportation hearing are events which easily enough explain themselves. The German Consulate has set itself up as a wide dragnet for anti-Nazis, a most effective spy system persecuting opponents of the Hitler regime who have fled to this country in order to escape from the concentration camps of Germany.

Saupe's fight to remain in this country as the only way open for him to escape persecution in his homeland is being pushed by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. His is the eleventh case of an anti-Nazi whose life is being jeopardized by the threat of deportation which the committee has undertaken to defend. Funds are greatly needed to help carry on the committee's campaign for right of asylum for political and religious refugees at present in the United States.

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

IF ARRESTED

1. Always remember that Immigration Inspectors have absolutely no power to compel you to answer any of their questions.
2. Refuse to answer all questions—anywhere—in jail, at home, in organization headquarters, on the street —except your name until you have seen an attorney.
3. Give no address, place of employment, the country you come from, when you arrived, whether or not you are a citizen. Don't give the name of the ship or the date when you came.
4. Don't sign anything. Don't be fooled into answering questions by an inspector who says he is trying to help you .
5. Deportation hearings are held in private. No workers are present. The only people in the room are commissioners, stenographers, the defendant and the lawyer. Everything you say is secret. Don't try to propagandize the officials at these hearings.
6. Always remember the Department of Labor must prove that you can be deported. They cannot get a visa to any country unless they prove you are a citizen of that country. Don't give them any free information. It will be used against you.
7. Always remember the Department of Labor still has not the right of arrest without warrant. If an inspector tells you to come along with him, demand that he show you his warrant. The same applies if he tries to search your home. He must have a warrant.

Answer no questions. Don't sign anything.

(LABOR DEFENDER)

NOTES

The Free Society Group of Chicago has just published in English the Resolutions adopted at the Chicago convention by the Federation of Russian Anarchist Communist Groups of U. S. A. and Canada in a pamphlet from. These deal with war, fascism, bolshevism, the united front and political prisoners. The price is 3 cents per copy. For groups, $1.50 per 100. Order from B. Yelensky, 3332 Potomac Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

* * *

Dear Comrades:

The response to our appeal has made possible the purchase of the plates of Berkman's A. B. C. of Anarchist-Communism. They are now in our possession, and being stored for us by the **Freie Arbeiter Stimme** in New York.

We have obtained a price for printing and binding, in New York, which will allow us to sell the books at 75 cents per copy. The printer requires cash with the order, so we are now asking camrades to send us orders for the books accompanied by the necessary money.

Those comrades who have not yet responded to our first appeal can, perhaps, see their way clear to placing an order for copies of the A. B. C.

No revolutionary library is complete without at least one copy of Berkman's A. B. C. of Anarchist-Communism.

We await replies, with confidence in the revolutionary zeal of our comrades.

Fraternally,
THE TORONTO LIBERTARIAN GROUP.
Dorothy Giesecke, secretary, Scarboro Bluffs, Ontario, Canada.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(February 15 to March 15)

Income	$ 70.15
Balance on hand	39.90
Total	$110.05
Expenditures	126.13
Deficit	$ 16.13

(Included in above Statement from Groups)
Boston, Mass., $31.80; Library, Pa., $6.25.

* * *

Am sending you $1.00 for MAN!—altogether too little. I think the difference between us is in this—that I am working for a more immediate and more attainable goal. Yours is the ultimate goal. Socialism is on the way—preparatory, a school. But you cannot detest our present social system more heartily than I do. It is the enemy of all fraternal good in man.

ROBERT I. KERLIN.

* * *

In this day of dictatorial regimentation of humanity under the banners of Communism, Fascism, Banktrism, etc., it is indeed a relief to hear one small voice still sounding the tocsin of unshackeled individualism, where every individual has an equal right and equal opportunity—"to each according to his needs and from each according to his abilities." In order that this small voice may be assisted to become stronger, enclosed is a small subscription payment of one dollar for one year to MAN!

V. I. WAN.

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This important essay has just been published in a re-edited pamphlet form

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